since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

41 Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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821
the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that 756
many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the 787
confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman [825]
Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each 754
supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapi- 787
rapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and 756
Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke [276]
much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

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(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long [756
tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the shor[illegible] 795]
"pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
751 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with [illegible] at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunga*) or gnawing worms (*unáka or áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "mad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 153] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatiruhu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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where an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Flubbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery.

(19) It hardly need be said that pajés do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

Death.—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topi shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pancé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[987] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[995] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[996] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of